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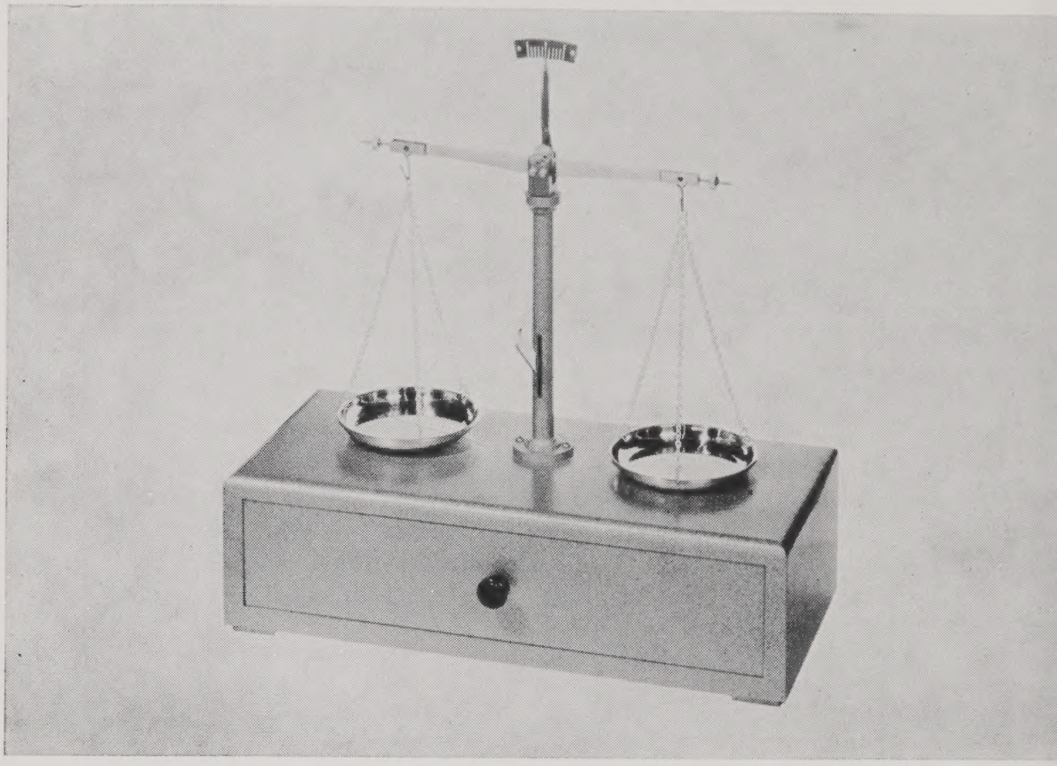

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VOL. 6 (VI, B) NO. 2 (8) AUGUST, 1967

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Cover Coin: Bronze AE3 of Procopius (365-366 AD). Inscription: DN PROCOPIVS PF AUG. Photo courtesy David B. Hardy.

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From the Editor's Desk

Perhaps the greatest reward which has come to me as editor is the contacts and firm friendships developed around the world with men and women who for one reason or another have opened correspondence with me. Although I have never met many of these people personally and perhaps never will, nevertheless I know some of them better than acquaintances I have had for years. These people are a constant source of challenge, stimulation and encouragement.

One such person is my friend from Kentucky, Mr. Clem Rowe. This man is both a numismatist and a gentleman—more he is a gentle philosopher who upon occasion generously imparts and shares his thoughts with me and also periodically he shares them with us all in articles written for the *Turtle*.

This all prefaces some thoughts which occur upon reading Mr. Rowe's article in the June issue of the *Turtle*. Mr. Rowe points out that we are not really possessors of artifacts, but merely lessees and curators of property which in truth belongs to all of society for all time. He states that, "We may be heirs of the past; we are also testators of the future."

There is a good deal of substance in this thought. What Clem had in mind was that we who own coins or any object which comes to us from our past have a responsibility to protect and preserve these things for the future which will also wish to possess them for a while; which will also wish to study and analyze as we ourselves do.

There is a metaphysical thought also in this. As living men and women we are heirs of all that mankind has been, all that he has done, and what mankind will be will depend also on what we ourselves do.

Another reader whom I shall permit to remain anonymous asks why the *Turtle* reprints articles upon occasion which come from the archives of the past. The answer to this is that there are many works of significance which are buried in obscure publications or written in foreign languages. Many of these articles, despite their age, remain authoritative or with a few brief notes may be brought up to date. Most of the material such as this which we have used has treated subjects upon which there is no current, easily accessible material in English.

Several readers commented upon my "Farewell to Silver" editorial which appeared in the June issue. The crux of what they had to say was that they lost their feeling of confidence when a valuable metal was replaced by a base one. This ground was well covered in the June issue, and need not be repeated, yet it would have been very surprising if many people didn't feel a nostalgic twinge for the passing of silver. My sympathies are all with them.

One overseas reader says that she doesn't wish to be a reactionary but that she preferred the colored covers to the new slicks. Someday color will return, and be both slick and colorful. In fact, some day two color printing will be the rule for the Turtle. It just all takes time.

For those of you who have written or are about to write about the quality of our printed Greek, it should be obvious that our Greek typesetter took a long vacation. This should be remedied shortly and we ask that our readers be patient. It is unfortunate but the demand for Greek typesetting is not great and our sources are too few and too independent.

August is the month, supposedly, of the journalistic doldrums and at this point one sees validity in such a notion. Therefore this message has taken the easy way out and by perhaps sharing a little of the editor's correspondence has made all of this wide spread organization of ours seem just a little closer to home and a little more one of real people, not just names.

John E. Hartmann, editor

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Coins and The Roman Occupation of Scotland. I

Lloyd R. Laing

AGRICOLA

Scotland, to the Roman Invader, must have seemed the very edge of the world. Densely forested like the German limes, the terrain was much harsher, with craggy hills, lochs and narrow glens. And to the soldier drafted from a more southerly province of the Empire, the grey mist and rain-heavy clouds must have seemed the Cimmerian dark itself.

The story of the Roman occupation of Scotland is a brief one, but one not without its interest, as here we can see the Roman army in action when it was 'really up against it,' trying to hold a swaying frontier in a territory alien to that in which it was most suited to campaign.

The man responsible for the initial conquest of the North of England and Scotland was Agricola, the father-in-law of the historian Tacitus, who has given us an account of his campaigns.

Until A.D. 79 Agricola had been concerned with the conquest of Wales, which was a centre of native resistance due to the activity there of the Druids. In that year he left his base at Chester and began his northern campaign. His route lay through Lancashire to Ribchester, where coins and pottery attest an early occupation, then north along the valley between the Pennines and the Cumberland and Westmorland Fells to Carlisle. In this valley there are a large number of Roman forts. On the East, his general Caristanius Fronto advanced on a parallel line, using York (Eboracum) as his base. Between Corbridge and Carlisle a series of forts was built, and Corbridge itself, which later became one of the main supply forts for Hadrian's Wall, was probably his base in the winter of A.D. 79-80. There are a few forts on the line of what was to become Hadrian's Wall which have produced some evidence of Agricolan occupation, and two have produced some early coins. At Netherby was found an aureus of Nero, and at Jarrow, at the extreme East end of the line, coin finds include an as of Nero and a denarius of Vitellius, which together with some other first century bronzes might suggest an Agricolan occupation.

Agricola's advance into Scotland was along two routes. The first was Western, from Carlisle through Birrens to Castledykes in Lanarkshire, led by Agricola himself. The second was Eastern, under the command of Fronto, which led from Corbridge through High Rochester to Newstead. From here

Fronto went on to Crammond on the Firth of Forth, while Agricola advanced to the neck of land between the Forth and the Clyde, across which the Antonine Wall was later to be built, and established a chain of forts. These consisted of Croy Hill, Bar Hill, Mumrills, Rough Castle, Castlecary, Cadder and Old Kilpatrick, and all have produced coins and pottery of Flavian date. The coin evidence, however, is not very sound in most cases as many of the coins could have been lost in the Antonine period.

The coin sequence from Bar Hill, for example, begins with one legionary denarius of Antony, which circulated in Britain until c. 200 A.D., two coins of Vespasian, one of Domitian, one of Nerva and nine of Trajan. Nevertheless, excluding dubious coins, this consists of the majority of coins from

the fort, as Hadrian is only represented by three coins and there are none of Pius.

Coins antedating Nero are very rare in Scotland, though a Claudian coin from Mumrills would suggest Agricolan occupation. Legionary denarii of Antony are represented at Mumrills, Rough Castle, Castlecary, Bar Hill and Balmuildy, but of these Balmuildy is almost certainly Antonine.

Agricola did not stop at the Forth-Clyde line, but probably went north into Perthshire, setting out from Camelon, another undoubtedly Flavian fort to the North of the Antonine Wall. Here he established another chain of forts, from Ardoch to Inchtuthil, near Pitlochry. A study of the first century coins

from native sites in Scotland shows the extent of influence. Coins from Aberdeenshire and the Moray Firth are possibly the strays from Agricola's army and fleet.

The coin sequence from Newstead, which is perhaps the richest site in the Northern Empire in its yield of finds, gives us a good sequence of the kind of coins circulating in the army at the time of Agricola.

One hoard can be associated with Agricola's Scottish campaigns. This is the Broomholm hoard of 6 aureii, and is the earliest gold hoard from Britain. Buried sometime in the reign of Vespasian, there are more coins of Nero in it than of Vespasian himself.

The Bar Hill Copies.

A curious series of imitation coins have been found at Bar Hill, which consist of copies of coins of Antony, Vespasian, Domitian, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, together with a large number of imitations of denarii of Trajan. These were all found in a well in the fort. They were all, save those of Antony and Vespasian, cast in moulds out of pure tin, except for one of copper silver alloy. They seem to have been made as offerings for throwing into wells and holy springs on ceremonial occasions, just as imitation money is made in China as offerings to the dead. Similar coins, probably made for the same purpose, have been found in the Thames.

The Recall of Agricola.

Agricola, having penetrated as far north as Perthshire, and having won a victory at Mons Graupius, was recalled in A.D. 84, before he had completed his policy of subjugating the North. The garrisons maintained their control however until the reign of Trajan, when trouble broke out again. To settle this, Hadrian, Trajan's successor, came to Britain with the Sixth Legion, the Valeria Victrix, and gave directions for the building of Hadrian's Wall.

The subsequent events will be traced in the next part.

(to be continued)

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An Introduction to the Archaeological Study of Greek Coins

H. N. Fowler and J. R. Wheeler[1]

(continued from p. 222, July, 1967)

PERIOD OF TRANSITIONAL ART

Every period in the history of art is necessarily a period of transition from what precedes to what follows it, for art is never stationary, but always progresses to something better or degenerates to something worse. Nevertheless, the transitional nature of the coin engraver's art between the defeat of the Persians and the end of the Peloponnesian War is especially manifest. In the earlier coins of this period the style is still archaic, the eye is represented as if seen from the front when the head is in profile, the forms, attitudes, and muscles of human figures are stiff and exaggerated; in short, the qualities which distinguish the period before the Persian Wars are still present, but are becoming slightly less prominent. The incuse square on the reverse is still common, especially in the East, and in general the coinage of the East is more conservative than that of the West. By the end of the period nearly all coins show complete mastery of technique, natural treatment of the eyes, muscles, and other details, graceful postures when entire figures are represented, and designs perfectly adapted to the round space they have to fill. Even in the first period the design was usually well adapted to the space, but in this respect, as in all others, the fifth century shows a marked advance.

ATHENIAN COINAGE

One might expect that at Athens, where under the règime of Pericles, art of all kinds was encouraged as never before, where the Parthenon was rising in its matchless beauty to enshrine the glorious gold and ivory Athena of Phidias, where Myron was perfecting the representation of animals and of the human form in motion, while Alcamenes was rivalling his great master, where Polygnotus and Apollodorus were producing pictures which may perhaps have equalled the sculptured frieze of the Parthenon, and where even the humble painters of vases were artists and consummate draughtsmen, — one might expect that at Athens new and perfectly beautiful coin types would be created. But this is not the case. As the power of Athens grew, her commerce also increased, and the excellence of her coinage was everywhere recognized. Athenian "owls" so-called from the type of the reverse, were the staple

currency of the Aegean, and a change of type might cause serious inconvenience and possible loss of trade. The Athenians therefore preserved the type they had adopted a century earlier, even retaining the archaic representation of the eye in full face.

Nevertheless, the new coins, while preserving the essential features of the earlier issues, show a decided advance in clearness and sharpness of outline, and much beauty of detail. The eye of the Athena is no longer round and protruding, but rather elongated, the hair is arranged in two simple waves over the forehead and temples, not in a series of artificial locks, and the ornamentation of the helmet is more carefully designed and executed. On the reverse the body of the owl is now rendered with remarkable liveliness, though the head is singularly conventional. A new symbol, a small crescent beside the head of the owl, now appears. In spite of the strong commercial reasons for the preservation of the old type, the new coins have a beauty that does not belong to the earlier issues.

In other places, where commercial reasons operated less strongly than at Athens to preserve the archaic types, the coins follow more closely the development of contemporary sculpture. A tetradrachm of Aenus, in Thrace, has on the obverse a head of Hermes which reminds one somewhat of the fine marble head in Athens attributed to a date about 480 B.C. The coin was struck not earlier than 450 B.C., and shows that the Thracian die cutter was not quite as advanced as the great sculptors of his day, but had already progressed far toward complete truth and freedom. The goat on the reverse is a real masterpiece.

DEMARETEIA

To the very beginning of this period belongs a series of decadrachms (or, to use the Sicilian word, *pentecontalitra*) struck at Syracuse. Diodorus (I, 26) narrates that after the battle of Himera, in 480 B.C., in which the Carthaginians were defeated by Gelo, a peace was arranged by the intervention of Gelo's wife, Demarete, on terms so favorable to the Carthaginians that they showed their gratitude by presenting her with a thousand talents of gold. From the proceeds were struck the decadrachms called "Demareteia." On the obverse is a head of Arethusa (or perhaps Nike), crowned with olive, and around it four dolphins. If, as has been suggested, the dolphins symbolize the salt water by which the famous spring of Arethusa at Syracuse was surrounded, the head on the obverse represents the nymph of the spring. In that case the olive wreath seems somewhat out of place, unless Arethusa herself be regarded as a symbol for the city of Syracuse. If,

on the other hand, the head represents Nike, the wreath of victory is eminently appropriate, but the dolphins can hardly be explained unless they are regarded as symbols of the salt water surrounding the city. The type of the reverse represents a slowly moving quadriga, the horses crowned by a flying Nike. In the exergue (the space below the type) is a lion. The coin is still archaic in many respects, especially in the treatment of the eye and in the figure of the charioteer, but shows the highest attainment in the coin engraver's art about 479 B.C.

COINS OF NAXUS

A remarkable coin of about the middle of this period, or perhaps somewhat later, is a tetradrachm of Naxus in Sicily, with a bearded head of Dionysus on the obverse and a bearded Silenus holding a wine cup on the reverse. The execution is hard, and the Dionysus has a leering expression, which is probably intended as a benign smile. The eye is, however, given in profile, and the details of hair and beard are accurately rendered. The Silenus shows what a difficult task the die cutter could accomplish. The foreshortening of the right leg is remarkably well done, and the whole figure is admirably arranged to fill the round space. The beard reminds one of that given to centaurs in the western pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia and to similar wild creatures on Attic vase paintings. The muscles are lumpy and exaggerated, but show careful study of nature. The whole coin impresses us with its vigor, firmness of style, and sincerity. It is instructive to compare with this a later coin of Naxus struck in the latter half of the fifth century. Here the same types are rendered in a softer, more graceful, and more finished style.

COINS OF ELIS

The staters of Elis form one of the finest series of Greek coins, extending from about 480 to 322 B.C. The types are nearly all connected with Zeus. Most usual are the eagle, the thunderbolt, and Nike. On some issues Zeus himself appears, on others Hera, on still others Olympia. A stater struck in the latter part of the fifth century, still shows something of the dignified severity of the art of Phidias. Indeed, it has been suggested that the style of the Zeus of Phidias may be understood with the aid of this coin better than with that of the later bronze, though the latter is without much doubt intended to reproduce the features of the great statute. On the reverse the letters FA at the sides of the thunderbolt stand for FAVEION (Attic *Eleion*), for Elis continued to use the digamma on her coins even in Roman times.

PERIOD OF THE FINEST ART

By the end of the fifth century B.C. Greek coinage shows complete mastery of technique, freedom of style, and delicacy of execution: in other words, the period of the finest art in coin engraving is reached. A comparison of an Elean stater of the middle or latter part of this period with the coin just described shows marked difference of style. The later coin is far clearer and sharper, which may be, however, in part due to its better preservation, and it shows far greater freedom and ease in the treatment of details, especially of the hair. On the reverse the eagle is admirable. Another interesting coin of this period is an Argive stater. Pausanias (II.17.4) describes the famous and beautiful gold and ivory statue of Hera by Polyclitus as seated on a throne and wearing a crown *(stephane)* adorned with figures of the Horae and Charites. Such an elaborate adornment would be ill adapted for representation on a coin, and a coin engraver might well adopt a simpler kind of ornament, while still intending to copy the features of the statue. The similarity of this ornament to some of the decorative carving of the temple in which the statue was placed adds to the probability that the coin engraver had the great temple statue in mind; but there is no reason to suppose that in other details, such as the arrangement of the locks of hair, or even in the exact proportions of the face, the coin imitates the statue more closely than in the crown. In fact, there are several issues of Argive coins adorned with the head of Hera, and no two issues offer exactly the same type. It is therefore hardly possible to assume for these beautiful coin types more than a general resemblance to the head of the great statue. Coins of Elis belonging apparently to this period have a similar type, which may also be inspired by the statue in the Argive Heraeum without being in any proper sense copies of it.

HEAD IN FULL FACE

A fine coin of Aenus exhibits a peculiarity which shows itself in several places during this period — the representation of a head in full face. Some coins with such heads are exceedingly beautiful, among them especially some issues of Amphipolis and of Syracuse. But although such types give the engraver an opportunity to exhibit great skill and artistic ability, they are not well adapted for use, as the projecting parts of the face are too much exposed to wear. The fashion of representing heads in full face was therefore not generally adopted and was soon given up, though it appears again later in some Rhodian coins. This coin from Aenus, like the coin from the same place described above, has a head of Hermes

on the obverse and a goat on the reverse, but in freedom of style and beauty of technique the later coin is far superior to the earlier.

SYRACUSAN DECADRACHMS

The superb Syracusan decadrachm of Evaenetus is one of the masterpieces of Greek coinage. The cities of Sicily seem to have vied with each other in issuing the most beautiful coins possible, and the fact that the engravers signed their names to the coins shows that their standing as artists was duly recognized. Besides Evaenetus, several other artists, among whom Cimon is justly most famous, signed their names on Syracusan coins. Never has the art of coin engraving attained such a height as that marked by these Syracusan coins of the fourth century B.C. On the decadrachm of Evaenetus the type of the obverse represents either Arethusa or (more probably) Persephone, that of the reverse a victorious quadriga. In the exergue are a helmet, thorax, greaves, and shield, no doubt the prizes in the games to which the chariot refers. It is not improbable that these splendid coins were issued annually in connection with the *Assinaria*, games held in commemoration of the defeat of the Athenians by the Syracusans at the river Assinarus, in 413 B.C.

COINAGE OF PHILIP II

The coinage of Philip II of Macedon (359-336 B.C.) is of unusual interest because it presents the first known example of an attempt to establish a fixed ratio of value between gold and silver and also because its types were long imitated in the coinage of Gaul and Britain after the Gauls invaded Greece in the third century B.C. Until Philip's time the Persian daric was the standard gold coin of the whole Aegean region. When Philip gained possession of the gold mines of Philippi, he proceeded to issue from mints in various parts of his dominions his own gold staters on the daric standard, but slightly heavier than the Persian daric. For his silver he adopted the Phoenician standard, which made fifteen silver staters, or thirty drachmas, equal in value to one gold stater at the ratio of 12½ : 1 for the value of gold and silver. This was the market value at the time, and the round numbers (15 and 30 : 1) resulting from the standard adopted had a natural tendency to keep the standard fixed. Nevertheless, the great increase in the production of gold caused the value of that metal to fall, so that Alexander on his accession was forced to abandon the plan of bimetallism. He coined his gold and silver on the same standard, using silver as the basis of his currency and making no attempt to fix the relative value of the two metals. The obverse of Philip's gold coins

bears the head of the youthful Heracles in the lion's skin, or the head of Apollo (sometimes of Ares?). Apollo and the youthful Heracles are also the types of his bronzes and occur most frequently on his silver coins, some of which bear the head of Zeus or of Artemis. The reverse types are all agonistic, referring to Philip's victories in the Olympic games.

PERIOD OF LATER FINE ART

In the time of Alexander the Great and his immediate successors, the *Diadochi*, the technical execution of coins remains almost, if not quite, at the height attained in the previous period, but the character of the types changes. The most usual type for the obverse is the portrait[6] of Alexander in the character of Heracles, wearing the lion's head as a helmet. The reverse usually associated with this type represents a seated Zeus holding an eagle in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. These types were used on coins struck by Alexander in various parts of his great empire, and his successors continued to employ them. It is therefore sometimes impossible to determine the date or place at which a given coin was struck, though in most cases inscriptions, symbols, and peculiarities of fabric are of assistance to the student. E.g. in a coin, the cluster of grapes under the hand of Zeus and the monogram under the throne serve to distinguish[7] from other coins of the same types this issue, which may be attributed to Maronea and to the time before Alexander's death (323 B.C.). The portrait of Alexander is not a simple human portrait, but represents him with the attributes of Heracles, and forms in this way a transition from the divine or semi-divine types of earlier coinage to the human portraits of later times. The first king to put his own head on coins, without divine or heroic attributes, was Ptolemy Soter.

INFLUENCE OF SCULPTURES

Among the many beautiful coins of this period the tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorcetes mentioned above is of exceptional interest because it reproduces a magnificent statue of Nike. The type of the reverse represents Poseidon in an attitude inherited from earlier times, but in finished and elegant execution. It may be too much to say that the figure is a product of the school of Lysippus, but it is evident enough that the die cutter, though reproducing a traditional, and even archaic, attitude, is himself trained in the style of his

[6] See Bieber, M. *Alexander The Great in Greek and Roman Art*. Chicago 1965.

[7] For the symbols on the coins of Philip and Alexander The Great see: Mueller, L. *Numismatique d'Alexandre le grand*. (1855) Rp. Stuttgart 1957.

own times. The Rhodian coin, of about 304 B.C., shows in its brilliant head of Helios, with rays as of light streaming from it, an expression which would have been impossible before Scopas. Other coins show clearly the influence of Praxiteles and his school. Such a coin is a Syracusan tetradrachm struck probably between 310 and 305 B.C. On the obverse is a head of Persephone with the inscription KOPAS, while the reverse has a winged Nike erecting a trophy. In general, the types of this period show more softness of modelling than those of the time before Alexander, more expression in faces, and, in the latter part of the period, greater slenderness of the human form.

PERIOD OF DECLINE

In the fifth period (280-146 B.C.) the coin types show in general less originality of design and less care in execution than before. Portraits of kings become the usual type of the obverse, though not to the exclusion of other types: figures of deities, sometimes copies of statues, appear frequently, usually on the reverse, and inscriptions become more prominent, these also for the most part on the reverse. Among the types of this period the portraits are the best and most interesting, some of them being admirably expressive. The sculpture of this period is best known to us in the striking mythological and historical works of the Pergamene school: the coins show that the art of portraiture was also carried to a high pitch of excellence, and they present a series of portraits of the kings of Egypt, Bactria, Syria, Pontus, Bithynia, Pergamon, Macedon, and Sicily, which possesses great historical, as well as artistic, interest. The reverse types of these coins are generally figures of deities, often in imitation of statues. A striking specimen of portraits on a coin of this period is presented by a gold coin of Ptolemy II (285-247 B.C.) On the obverse are portraits of Ptolemy II and his wife Arsinoë II, with the inscription THEON ADELPHON, on the reverse portraits of Ptolemy I and Berenice I. Here the features of the reigning monarchs and their predecessors are evidently rendered with the utmost realism and truth.

A good example of the work of this period other than portraits is a silver coin of the Achaean League. The head of Zeus is well drawn, but not so carefully executed as in earlier times, and the reverse, instead of bearing a real type, is occupied by symbols enclosed in a wreath. The use of wreaths in the decoration of coins is not uncommon in this period. On some Macedonian coins the head of the obverse is placed on

a round shield, the ornamental border of which forms, as it were, a decorative frame about the head. In general, the coins of this period are, with the exception of the portraits, far less interesting as works of art than those of the previous periods, and as time advances even the portraits deteriorate. The fabric of the coins is also different from that in use before. The earlier thickness gives place to breadth and flatness, and the space thus gained on the coin is utilized for the longer and more elaborate inscription now coming into vogue. In all these respects the last period of Greek independence shows a great decline in the art of coinage, a decline which was still more marked under the rule of Rome.

PERIOD OF CONTINUED DECLINE

In the period from 146 to 27 B.C. the Roman power spread over the Greek world, and in most Greek cities the coinage of gold and silver came to an end, though Athens continued to issue silver coins until 86 B.C., and the privilege of coining was granted to other cities also at various times. Copper coins continued to be struck in various cities under the Republic and also under the Empire.[8] At Athens, no coins were struck after 86 B.C. until the time of Hadrian, when the coinage of copper was recommenced. The work of coins issued under the Republic is rude.

With the foundation of the Roman Empire under Augustus, the coins in some places improve for a time, and again under Hadrian there is a temporary improvement, but after that the style grows constantly ruder, the coins themselves become, as a rule, flatter, and the field is in many places more and more completely filled with the characters of the inscription. Except in Crete and some places in Asia, the coinage of Greek cities under the Empire was virtually restricted to copper.

The coins issued in Greek cities under Roman sway are historically interesting, and the student of art values some of them because they reproduce famous statues or other monuments, but in themselves, regarded as works of art, they are, with comparatively few exceptions, devoid of interest.

[8] See Jones T., *Greek Imperial Coins and Their Mints*, Chicago 1967, in prep.

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All the coins mentioned in the text are illustrated in the following four books:

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4. British Museum. *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks.* London 1959.

The authors based their account on the above Nos. 1 and 2 and the following:

5. Head, B. V. *Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (1911) Rp. Chicago 1967. (In their own short bibliography the reference is to the 1st ed. of 1887).
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9. Ward, J. (and G. F. Hill), *Greek Coins and their Parent Cities.* London 1902
10. Babelon, E., *Traite des monnaies grecques et romaines.* (Vol. I, II, III). Paris 1904-1907.

The original edition of the *Handbook of Greek Archaeology* is dated 1909. The book was reprinted several times without revision until 1940 and is considered still the best introduction for students of archaeology. For many classical scholars and archaeologists today, this text, read in their student days, remains the unique contact they have had with ancient numismatics. For many of our readers it may be helpful as an introduction to the archaeological study of Greek coins. And for those who wish further study of this aspect of ancient numismatics see No. 2 above as well as pages 71-76 of E. Clain-Stefanelli's *Select Numismatic Bibliography.*

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Book Reviews

SIMONETTI, LUIGI. *Monete Italiane Mediovale e Moderne*. Vol. I, Part 1. (The House of Savoy from Count Oddone [1056] to Duke Charles Emmanuel 1630). Florence, 1967. 486 pp. + four color plates + folding genealogical table. $19.00. (Available in the U.S. from Argonaut Inc., Publishers).

This volume inaugurates a new series on the medieval and modern coinage of Italy. It is based on the "CORPUS NUMMORUM ITALICORUM" integrating into its first volume "CASA SAVOIA," which was published in 1910. all new data and coins discovered and published since.

A story of the main events of each ruler starts each such group. followed by a detailed description of the coins, stating the metal, size, weight. mint and references. Be it remembered that a few years after its inception E. Dotti published a "Tariffa" on the coins based on the CORPUS (CNI). His prices were in Italian Lire. then (1913) equal to about 20c. Simonetti remarks in the preface that present day pr ces for larger denominations are much higher, while the prices for minor coins for which a considerable interest was prevalent before the first world war are still valid.

Due to its size (10:7") the book is very handy, the print is clear and spacious, and the numerous text illustrations show, with few exceptions, all necessary details. The volume is leatherbound, priced 11.500 lire (ca. $19.00). The CORPUS NUMMORUM ITALICORUM is arranged in geographical order from North to South. Nineteen volumes are published, from Savoy to Naples (till 1556); the twentieth volume was destroyed during the second world war; this reviewer saw a copy only at the Palazzo Barberini in Rome during the Numismatic Congress in 1961. The Italian numismatists still owe the world the publication of the remaining volumes. With this in mind we would have loved that Mr. Simonetti had seen his way clear to start his remarkable and recommendable work from South to North.

EDWARD GANS

The purpose of this new series is to present to the numismatists and historians of Mediaeval and Modern Italy an enlarged and up to date version of the Mediaeval and Modern coins included in the volumes of the *Corpus Numorum Italicorum*. It is admittedly an ambitious and noble publishing program, which since the volumes of the CNI are long ago out of print and by now outdated from recent numismatic discoveries and studies, comes to fill a great need in the world of research and historical documentation.

The first volume is divided into sections for each of the counts and dukes of the House of Savoy of the period 1056-1630 who issued coins. A short chronological note introduces the reader to the family relations and the most important events in the lifetime of each of them, and is followed by a listing of the know coin types issued by their mints, Excellent illustrations (actual size) of both obverse and reverse accompany each coin entry, in which short and to the point descriptions including the inscriptions and symbols, metal. weight. mint and reference to previous publications help the numismatist to form a complete and detailed idea of it. To facilitate reference the coin types repre-

senting the issues of each ruler are numbered in chronological order based either on stylistic study or on inscribed dates.

For the collector of coins of Mediaeval and Modern Italy, the new series by Mr. Simonetti we are sure will become *the* reference work. provided of course that the forthcoming volumes will follow the high editorial, printing and binding standards of the one already published. For historians of the house of Savoy who use the rich evidence of the numismatic sources, there is no question that the published volume of the *Monete Italiene Medioevali e Moderne* provides an excellent aid completely up to date and accompanied by a first rate bibliography (pp. 477-483) including a list of personal collections and numismatic lists and catalogues (p. 477) not commonly used in other works.

It is an absolutely necessary acquisition for any historical reference library in colleges and universities and the major public libraries. The fact that the book is written in Italian does not present any important difficulties for reference purposes.

ALOISIUS BAROZZI

EDDY, SAMUEL K. THE MINTING OF ANTONINIANI A.D. 238-249 AND THE SMYRNA HOARD, American Numismatic Society, New York, 1967, NNM-#156, 133 pp plus 14 plates.

There are four separate aspects of this monograph. each of which deserves comment.

First, it represents publication of the Smyrna Hoard. This was a hoard of 1.243 antoniniani and one denarius which was unearthed at Smyrna or in its vicinity in the 1950's. The hoard's container and precise provenance are lost, but the coins remained essentially intact until after Professor Eddy had the opportunity to classify and catalog them.

The catalog of the hoard gives the RIC number of each coin, the weight in grams, the relation of reverse and obverse die on most coins and the reverse inscription and short remarks on individual peculiarities. As a catalog of a hoard, the monograph must stand for this alone as a valuable reference work which will be used again and again by scholars investigating various aspects of the reigns of Gordian III and Phillip.

The second aspect is Professor Eddy's discussion of the hoard and his possible motivation for laying down the accumulation, the economic and political conditions in Smyrna and the probable dates for the laying down of the hoard.

The third and fourth aspects of the work are the author's conclusions based on his study of the hoard itself and related coins of the reigns of Gordian III and Philip.

In order to appreciate the work undertaken by Dr. Eddy it is necessary to have available Vol 4:3 of the *ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS* of Mattingly and Sydenham. It would also be most helpful to have access to the *NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE* of 1939 for reference to Mattingly's article "The Great Dorchester Hoard of 1936."

In essence Dr. Eddy accepts the theory propounded by Pink and Voetter that the Roman mint was divided into "officina," a theory upon which Mattingly worked and which he set forth most fully in Vol 4:3 of the RIC.

The main contention which Dr. Eddy here wishes to set forth is that Mattingly erred in attributing six officina to Gordian—that in fact there were *three* officina under Gordian and that six appear for the first time during the reign of Philip. He then wishes to attribute to Philip's gov-

ernment certain sweeping reorganizations at the mint.

This reviewer is not wholly convinced by Professor Eddy's arguments, yet they are so well made that it would almost involve a lengthy paper to point out the weaknesses of certain aspects of the evidence. This reviewer does not wish to be unfair to the earnest and carefully planned monograph which has been written. It is better therefore to state that Professor Eddy has raised a number of important points which will have repercussions on the theory of "officina" in general, on mint organization in the mid-third century and certain political and economic practices and reforms which took place in the period he covers. 239-248.

For scholars and people who have a good numismatic background and who are interested in the third century, this monograph will be a challenge and will be an important and controversial work for some years to come.

JOHN E. HARTMAN

LANE-POOLE, STANLEY. *Coins of the Urturki Turkumans.* (1875) Reprinted by Charles McSorley, New York 1967. $6.00.
GHALIL-EDHEM, I. *Catalogue des Monnaies Turcomanes.* (1895). Reprinted by Forni Editore. Bologna 1967. $7.00.

It is not the usual habit to review unchanged reprints, but this is the unique way to inform the *Turtle's* readership of the availability of the two books above which may not otherwise be known. Because both titles are primary reference works, it is our duty to discuss them here now that they are again readily available.

Certainly it is time that these two basic books have been reissued because many beginners find Turkuman bronzes in their collections due to their similarity to the Byzantine issues. Indeed they are contemporary with the Byzantine and are in many cases the most faithful imitations of the more well-known series. It has been difficult for collectors to specialize in Turkuman coins due to the lack of these and any other reference books on the subject. Happily this has now changed, and it is a certainty that any collector using these guides will find unpublished, unlisted and new variations of Turkuman bronzes in dealers' boxes and friends' collections. This series is one of the least known and researched of the mediaeval Orient and anyone beginning to specialize in it will encounter many surprises.

When volume 3 of the *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* is reprinted (it is now in preparation), the reference library on Turkuman coins will be complete, until something new is written. Any collector wishing to specialize in this series, and hopefully there will be some, may see the few remaining references in E. Clain-Stefanelli's *Select Numismatic Bibliography* (pp. 133-137), and in order to learn the Arabic alphabet, he may consult Lane-Poole, Plate VII and page 43.

The two books complement each other in several ways. The first contains a fine introduction to Turkuman history and numismatics, and describes the coins in English. The other definitely lists more types and contains 8 fine photographic plates instead of the line drawings of the first. But this book is in French. Anyone using one of these books will inevitably have to expand to the other as well, for both books, 92 and 72 years old respectively, remain the best references available to date. The most recently published book on this subject is B. Butak's *Yuzyillar resimli Turk paralari* (Istanbul, 1947), but it is written in Turkish and is "far from satisfactory" (cf. P. Grierson, *Coins and Medals*, 1954, p. 70). Perhaps its only usefulness is to check on published varieties.

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Notes on Ancient and Medieval Coins

As a regular feature of the *Turtle*, beginning with this issue, there will appear an anthology of descriptions (with emphasis on historical meaning) of ancient and mediaeval coins by the great numismatic scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Readers are invited to suggest, for this series, their favorite numismatic descriptions which they believe will be of value to other readers. If we learn what Head, Gardner, Grueber, Hill, Svoronos, Newell, Keary and others felt necessary to cover in the historical description of a coin, we shall soon number among *Turtle* readers, people who will be able to describe coins equally well, or perhaps better.

The first group of descriptions comes from the pen of one of the scholars most devoted to the idea of popularization of ancient numismatics. Sir George F. Hill is well known to *Turtle* readers, not only from his excellent and very popular *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, *Historical Greek Coins*, *Historical Roman Coins* and *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, but also for his many articles and monographs in numerous numismatic and archaeological journals. However, one of his lesser known works in the numismatic world is *Illustrations of School Classics* (London 1903) in which he attempted very successfully to introduce numismatics to those who study classical languages and literature. Hill's descriptions of ancient coins for the freshman student of classics are real masterpieces of brief but significant numismatic writing which should be valuable to the beginning collector of ancients.

1. Sulla.

Roman silver coin (denarius) issued by Q. Pompeius Rufus in B.C. 57. *In the British Museum.*

The coin is inscribed SVLLA CO(*n*)S(*ul*), The magistrate who issued it, and whose name POM. RVFI. is given on the other side, not illustrated here, was Sulla's grandson.

2. Sulla and Jugurtha.

Roman silver coin (denarius) issued by Faustus Cornelius Sulla about 62 B.C. *In the British Museum.*

Faustus was the son of the dictator Sulla, and on his coins he makes more than one allusion to the feats of his father in Africa. The head on this coin is generally described as Jugurtha. But on No. 3 the captive king is represented as bearded. The combination of lion's skin with taenia shows that the head represents either the African Heracles, or a king (Bocchus?) in the guise of that god. In any case, the head alludes to the capture of Jugurtha. Note the doubling of the vowel in the name FEELIX to show that it is long.

3. The Surrender of Jugurtha.

Roman silver coin (denarius) issued by Faustus Cornelius Sulla in 62 B.C. *In the British Museum.*

We have already seen on No. 2 an allusion to the capture of Jugurtha. Here we have the actual scene of the surrender depicted. Bocchus, king of Mauritania, kneels before Sulla, and holds up to him an olive-branch; on the other side kneels the captive king with his hands tied behind his back. Valerius Maximus (viii. 14.4) says that Sulla appropriated to himself all the glory of the capture of Jugurtha by Marius through the agency of Bocchus, to such a degree that he had the scene of the surrender engraved on his signet ring. From that ring the type of this coin is obviously derived. The word FELIX here is spelt in the usual way, unlike the form on No. 2.

3

4

4. Ariobarzanes *III.*, king of Cappadocia (B.C. 52-42).

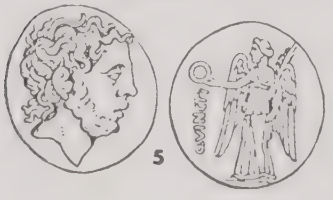
Silver coin (drachm) in the British Museum.

Head of the king wearing diadem. On the reverse his name is given as "of the King of Ariobarzanes, the pious and friend of the Romans." Cf. Cic. *Epist. ad Fam.* xv. 2: *regem Ariobarzanem, Eusebem et Philoromaeum.* His face bears a slight resemblance to that of Mithradates the Great, his grandfather. Cicero in his letters often refers to this king with whom he had communications when Proconsul in Cilicia; among other things, he conveyed to him the recognition of his position by the Roman Senate and People.

5. Flamininus in Greece.

Gold coin (stater) issued in Greece in or after 196 B.C. *At Paris.*

This coin must have been struck during the presence of T. Quinctius Flamininus in Greece, after he had crushed the power of Macedon at Cynoscephalae, whether immediately after the battle or somewhat later it is hardly possible to decide. On the obverse is the head of the conqueror; on the reverse his name [T.] QVINCTI and a figure of Victory holding wreath and palm—a type suggested by the gold coins of Alexander the Great (No. 260).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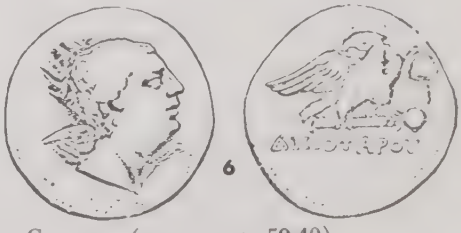
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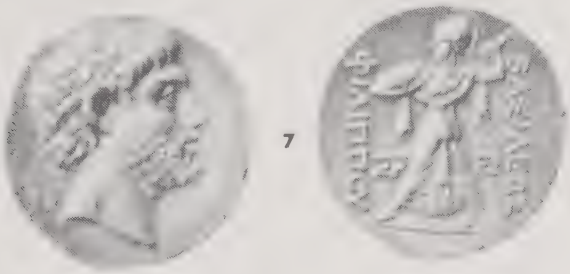
6. Deiotarus, king of Galatia (about B.C. 59-40).

Bronze coin in the British Museum.

Deiotarus, the client of Cicero, is known by a few coins. He was the first king of Galatia, and received permission to use the royal title from the Roman Senate in B.C. 59. The extant coins are mostly ill preserved. The head on the obverse is that of Victory (the outlines of her wings

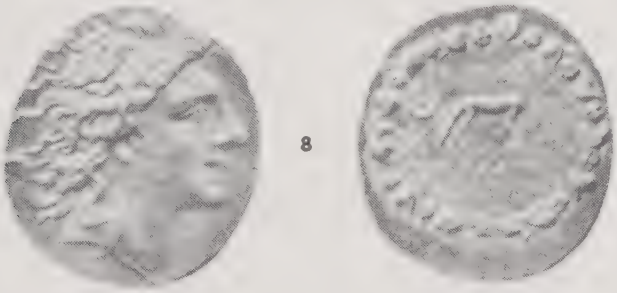
are seen on either side of the neck). On the reverse is the inscription *Deiotarou* and an eagle standing on a scabbard; on either side is one of the conical caps of the Dioscuri (that on the left, like the royal title, is obliterated on this specimen).



7. Philip of Macedon (b.c. 220-179).

Silver coin (*tetradrachm*).

The king is represented wearing a diadem. On the reverse is a figure of Athena, wearing helmet, long chiton, cloak passing over her shoulders and hanging down in front of her arms, and aegis. She carries a shield (device, a star), and hurls a thunderbolt with her right hand. This figure was suggested by a famous statue of Athene Alkis (the defender) at Pella, the Macedonian capital. The style of the coin-type is, however, archaistic, not archaic; that is to say, it represents the sort of figure which an artist of the third or second century b.c. would make when imitating an archaic work. The tip-toe attitude and the exaggerated stiffness of the drapery are characteristic of archaistic art. The coin is inscribed *Basileos Philippou*, and there are two monograms, distinguishing this issue from others.



8. Mithradates VI. the Great, king of Pontus (b.c. 115-63).

Silver coin (*tetradrachm*).

The king wears a diadem, the end of which is seen behind his head. On the reverse is a Pegasus, with the inscription *Basileos Mithradatou Eupatoros*. To the left is a star (sun) within a crescent, the emblem of the kings of Pontus. To the right are HE (for 208, which is a date corresponding to 90/89 b.c.) and a moneyer's monogram; while the H below indicates that the coin was issued in the seventh month of the year. The whole is encircled by an ivy-wreath, which may allude to the title 'new Dionysus' by which Mithradates was acclaimed in Asia. Note the spelling *Mithradates* as more correct than *Mithridates*.

9. Cleopatra VII., queen of Egypt (b.c. 52-30).
Silver coin (tetradrachm) struck at Ascalon in Judaea, b.c. 52-30.
In the British Museum.

The queen wears a broad diadem. This is the best portrait of her on any published coin, and none of the portraits gives a pleasing impression. Plutarch (*Anton.* 26) indeed says that her beauty was not incomparable or dazzling; her fascination evidently lays in her manner and conversation.

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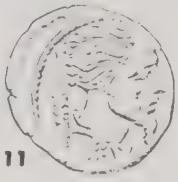
11

10. 11. Caesar's Conquest of Gaul.

Silver coins (denarii) of L. Hostilius, struck in 48 b.c.

These two heads have usually been explained as Pallor and Pavor, personifications of two of the results of war—in the language of Roman mythology they are companions of the war-god Mars. To them Tullus Hostilius is said to have vowed temples (Livy. i. 27). But recently it has been made clear that these heads in some way represent conquered Gaul; the male head may even be meant for Vercingetorix himself, while the female head is the personification of Gallia. The two symbols are a Gaulish war-trumpet (*carnyx*) and an oval shield.

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THE PROVINCE OF DACIA AND ITS EFFECTS ON ROMAN IMPERIAL COINAGE

by Jack J. Rosecrans Jr.

Dacia, now what is mostly modern Rumania, was noted by ancient authors such as Strabo and Dio Cassius for its vast mineral wealth of salt, iron, silver, and, most important of all, gold. The Transylvanian mountain range of northern Rumania was fabulously rich in gold by ancient standards, and on account of this gold, the country was conquered and exploited by the Romans. The gain and loss of the riches of Dacia greatly influenced the coinage system of the Roman empire. The changes in the coinage system affected and reflected the changing Roman character from the ancient world to the mediaeval society.

History

The first contact between the Dacians and the Romans occurred during the reign of the emperor Augustus (27 BC - 14 AD). Augustus, trying to establish his military reknown, met a Dacian raiding party south of the Danube and destroyed it, after which he crossed the Danube on a minor punitive expedition. Although the Romans knew something about the Dacian wealth through the Greeks who had been trading with the country many years before Rome conquered Greece, there was no serious attempt to conquer the country or stop its raiding in the Roman provinces south of the Danube until the reign of the emperor Domitian (81-96 AD). Domitian had expeditions raid the country across the Danube, but the situation of the Roman empire caused Domitian to seek peace with the Dacians by buying them off. In order to keep the peace in effect and to stop the Dacian raids, Domitian started building the famous Danube "limes" which fortified the river against the barbarians of the north.

Conquest

Domitian was much hated by the Roman upper class for his "disgraceful" settlement with the Dacians. A few years after Domitian's death, the emperor Trajan (98-117 AD) had to intervene on the Danube frontier due to the reoccurrence of Dacian raids. In a series of three campaigns (98, 99, 102 AD), Trajan systematically reduced the country to Rome's power; however, after the peace was made there was a revolt against the Romans, and in one final campaign (106 AD), the

country was conquered and occupied as a Roman province. Trajan conquered the country externally as revenge for Domitian's dishonor and to drive a strategic wedge behind hostile Germany, but the main reasons were to end the Dacian raids forever and to gain the wealth of Dacia. As early as 107 AD, the province became self supporting for the administration was set upon an economic basis by Trajan.

EXPLOITATION

Though the country was conquered by the Romans, it still retained a strong Celtic character in its customs for the Augustian "Romanization" system of new provinces which worked in Gaul was no longer in existence by Trajan's time due to the changing customs of the Roman empire. Many mines were started in the Transylvanian Range, and large amounts of gold flowed into the coffers of Rome. All the mines in the empire were property of the state which were worked by contractors who paid a certain fee to the state, or they were worked by state officials. Both free and slave labor were used in the mines.

FINANCE

The Roman silver to gold ratio generally was 12 to 1; however, as the gold of Dacia came into the empire, the ratio changed to the favor of silver. The standard silver coin of the empire, the denarius, was debased while the standard gold coin, the aureus, remained untouched.[1] From the time of the emperor Nero (54-68 AD), denarii were struck 96 to a Roman pound of silver. Each coin was roughly 90% silver.[2] These standards were kept up to the reign of Trajan except for a period of financial crisis after a civil war from 68 to 69 AD when the alloy of silver was reduced to 85% for a short time. Under Trajan and his immediate successors, the weight of a denarius was reduced to 1/99 of a Roman pound, and the alloy was reduced to 85% while the gold still remained 1/45th of a Roman pound as in Nero's reign coinciding with the working of the Dacian mines. The alloy content of silver in a denarius was again reduced under the emperor Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD) to 80% when the Dacian mines were approaching peak production. Again the silver content was reduced to 76% under the emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD) when the Dacian mines were in full production.[3] Although the silver coinage was continually debased the gold was steady in its

[1] F. Heichelheim, Zu. Pap. Bad. 37, *Ein Beitrag zur romischen Geldgeschichte*, Klio XXV 1932.

[2] S. Bolin, *State and Currency in the Roman Empire to 300 AD*, Stockholm, 1958.

[3] S. Bolin, *ibid.*

alloy and weight. Then the clouds of destruction came in from the north.

Crisis

During the last years of the reign of Antoninus Pius, there were several minor raids into the Roman provinces of the Danube region by what were called "free Dacians." These raids continued into the reign of Marcus Aurelius. In the summer of 167 the gold mining town of "Alburnus Maior" (modern Rosia Montana Verespatak, Rumania), situated in the Transylvanian Range, was overrun by barbarians.[4] Town after town in the mining districts was destroyed. Finally Marcus Aurelius and his co-emperor, Lucius Verus (161-169 AD), marched north, but by the time that they were in northern Italy, peace had been restored to Dacia and the barbarians were driven out by the local garrisons; the emperors returned home. This raid was only the first wave of many which were to follow that finally flooded the empire in the fifth century. The second wave came a few months later. It was a disaster. Not only Dacia was completely overrun, but the Balkans also. A tribe called the "Postoboci" went through Dacia and raided as far south as Greece. The provinces of Dacia, Pannonia, and Moesia were utterly devastated. Marcus Aurelius began a series of campaigns, first defensive, then offensive to end the danger. These campaigns were called the Marcomannic Wars. There followed after the fall of the provinces a general economic and social crisis which had terrible effects for many years afterwards. There were three nations of barbarians against the Romans: the Marcomanni and Quadi in the West and the Iazyges in the East (Dacia). Marcus Aurelius, in order to raise money for his campaigns, sold imperial possessions including the empress' jewels. Many citizens of the empire could not meet their liabilities, and the emperor annulled certain unpaid taxes instituting new ones on citizens who could pay. Imperial control spread over the empire in the form of the emperor's "curatores" who forwent all constitutional authority in order to stop economic and social unrest.

The Romans began an offense in 172 AD and campaigned until 175 AD when there was some trouble on the eastern frontier of the empire. Peace was brought from the barbarians in order to settle the East. As under Domitian's peace, it did not last long. By 177 AD Marcus Aurelius was campaigning again on the Danube until his sickness and death in 180

[4] J. Schwendemann, *Der historische Wert der Veta Marcibei den Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Heidelberg, 1923.

AD. The son of the late emperor, Commodus, (180-193 AD), again bought peace from the barbarians and "ended" the war. The Romans had suffered considerable losses in the Marcomannic Wars. In the peace treaty, all prisoners were to be returned. The Iazyges, who had raided the Dacian region, alone returned over a 100,000 captives.[5] The barbarians were allowed to settle in large numbers in the ruined areas of the Balkans to fill the vacuum that they left there.

AFTER EFFECTS

The mining had halted during the war, and efforts were made to begin it again. But, there was a huge labor shortage caused by the wars and a plague which hit the empire during the war. The province of Dacia was almost empty of Romans after the war, and there was no one to re-populate the region. To further add to the troubles of the Dacian area, there were several minor revolts under Commodus. There followed a rapid debasement of silver coinage which in turn led to a complete breakdown of the empire's money system during the next century. Denarii under Commodus had their silver content lowered to 72%, and reduced in weight to 1/103 of a Roman pound. The emperor Didius Julianus (193 AD) further reduced the weight to 1/105 of a pound, and the emperor Septimius Severus (193-211 AD) reduced the alloy to 58%.[6]

All efforts failed, and the emperor Caracalla (211-217 AD) had to send the army into Dacia again to re-establish peace. The Dacian gold mines were finally abandoned. With the end of the influx of gold into the empire and increasing amounts of tribute to the barbarians who were paid off in gold, Caracalla had to debase the aureus to 1/50th of a Roman pound or about 11% of its original weight.[7] Also, he reduced the silver coinage alloy to 40% with the debasement of the gold coinage.

The coinage system began to worsen more quickly after the debasement of the gold. With almost total political anarchy (which lasted for nearly fifty years) following the death of the emperor Severus Alexander (222-235 AD), the alloy content of silver coinage dropped down to 2% consisting of a bronze coin with just a silver wash and then just a bronze coin without any silver at all, and the gold continued to be slowly debased. The province of Dacia became "barbarized" during

[5] Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, LCL.
[6] S. Bolin, *ibid.*
[7] H. M. Jones, Inflation under the Roman Empire, *EHR* 1953.

this period, and during the reign of Aurelian (270-276 AD) the province was permanently evacuated north of the Danube in 275 AD.

CONCLUSION

The conquest of Dacia gave the Roman empire a large source of gold, and as the gold flowed into the empire, the silver flowed out in foreign trade as shown by archaeological evidence found in India, Germany, and southern Russia. These factors tended to upset the gold-silver ratio which in turn led to the upset of the coinage system. The trade on the frontier (where the largest economic factor of the empire resided, the Roman army) began to refuse the silver coinage at the official rate of 25 denarii to 1 aureus, and later only accepted the gold coinage. When the gold coinage finally broke down as a result of the loss of the Dacian gold mines, the Marcomannic Wars, and a plague, there was a social and economic tumult,[8] and trade came almost to a standstill. There followed a period of unstability in which the empire almost collapsed. Only the drastic social and economic reforms of the emperors Diocletian (284-305 AD) and Constantine I (306-337 AD) saved the empire by changing the character of the ancient world, thus began the mediaeval one.

[8] E. Kornemann, *Weltgeschichte des Mittelmeer-Raumes von Philipp II von Makedonien bis Muhammed (herausgegeben von H. Bengston) II Von Augustus bis zum Sieg der Araber*, Munich 1949.

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